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ABSTRACT

The student booklet presents short chapters illustrating the prejudice/discrimination unit of the Minneapolis Multi-Ethnic Curriculum Project for secondary schools. Fifteen brief chapters describe the ways Americans have and still do discriminate against the people of various ethnic groups. Topics cover the history and policies of the Know-Nothing political party in the 1850s, the life and job of a Polish sweat-shop girl, a slave's work in the cotton fields, Chinese laborers on the transcontinental railroad, the living conditions of Mexican Americans in the valley of the Rio Grande River and of Puerto Ricans in the barrios of New York City, and the fight for citizenship by Dr. Pandit, an East Indian. Two chapters describe school segregation cases, one relating to Japanese American children in San Francisco and the other relating to Mexican American students. A photo essay illustrates the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. Contemporary discrimination is discussed in two chapters, one presenting the findings of a study by the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs on ethnic discrimination in the corporate world, and the other on the legality of private club discrimination. The final three chapters trace the development of the Japanese American Citizens League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and American Indian militancy. (CK)

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TENTATIVE

MINNEAPOLIS Multi-Ethnic Curriculum Project - PREJUDICE/ DISCRIMINATION UNIT

SP 012 421

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IX

MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS

MINNEAPOLIS MULTIETHNIC CURRICULUM PROJECT

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THE KNOW-NOTHINGS

During the middle 1800's many immigrants were coming to this country. At the same time many other changes were also taking place. Factories were growing, and there were more of them. Cities were also growing. New machines changed the way things were made.

Many people did not like the way American society was changing. These people thought of themselves as "native" Americans. This only meant that their ancestors, who had come from Europe, had been here before the new immigrants. These people were also Protestants.

Many of these "native" Americans did not like the immigrants. They did not like their "foreign" ways. It was believed that large numbers of foreigners would change the old ways of living in America. Many of the new immigrants were also Catholic. This was also something about them which the "natives" disliked.

Anti-foreign political parties started in many cities about 1835. These parties later grew into the powerful "Know-Nothing" party of the 1850's. At first they were called Native American parties, then simply the American Party. Their philosophy was described as Americanism. "The grand work of the American Party," said one Know-Nothing, "is the principle of nationality. We must do something to protect it. If we do not it will be destroyed." The Know-Nothings believed that foreign influences threatened the life of the United States from within.

They had three main points of view: 1) the Anglo-Saxon tradition of America was better than traditions and beliefs from other countries, 2) Catholic influence would be bad for the country, and 3) many Europeans were political trouble-makers. To many Know-Nothings only Anglo-Saxons

were able to handle political freedom. They were the only people able to make self-government work. Many thought that if immigration continued, the Anglo-Saxon blood of America would be "watered-down" with foreign blood.

Many Catholic immigrants were thought to be agents of the Pope. Some Know-Nothings felt that he had sent them here to destroy American churches and other institutions. They did not want to allow Catholics to become citizens. In addition, they did not want any Catholics in public office.

Many revolutions had taken place in Europe between the late 1800's and 1850. Some Know-Nothings thought this showed that Europeans were "trouble-makers." They felt that militant political opposition was un-American. The Europeans were seen as disloyal to our government. And this disloyalty was against republican freedom.

Probably the group disliked most by the Know-Nothings were the Irish. They lived together. They spoke Irish and broken English. And they were Catholic. These differences made them "un-American" in the eyes of most Know-Nothings.

The many bad feelings often led to violence. In many cities there were riots. Conflicts increased as more Irish immigrants came to live in this country.

During the 1850's the Know-Nothing Party took advantage of these conflicts and the anti-foreign feelings of many people. In the elections of 1854 many Know-Nothings were elected. Six were elected as state governors. In Massachusetts the Know-Nothings won almost every state office, and they controlled the state legislature.

The 1854 elections marked the high point for the Know-Nothings. The growing concern over the Civil War led to its decline. The Know-Nothing party vanished by 1860.

A POLISH SWEAT-SHOP GIRL

I went to work in what they call a sweatshop, making skirts by machine. I was new at the work and the foreman scolded me a great deal.

"Now, then," he would say, "this place is not for you to be looking around in. Watch your work. That is what you have to do."

I did not know at first that you must not look around and talk, and I made many mistakes with the sewing. I was often called a "stupid animal." But I made $4 a week by working six days in the week.

I lived at this time with a girl named Ella, who worked in the same factory and made $5 a week. We had the room all to ourselves, paying $1.50 a week for it.

We did our cooking on an oil stove, and lived well, as this list of our expenses for one week will show:

ELLA AND SADIE FOR FOOD(ONE WEEK)

Tea	$0.06
Cocoa	.10
Bread and rolls	.40
Canned vegetables	.20
Potatoes	.10
Milk	.21
Fruit	.20
Butter	.15

Meat	.60
Fish	.15
Laundry	.25
Total	$2.42
Add rent	1.50
Grand Total	$3.92

Of course, we could have lived cheaper, but we are both fond of good things and felt that we could afford them.

It cost me $2 a week to live, and I had a dollar a week to spend on clothing and pleasure, and saved the other dollar.

Two years ago I came to Brownsville. So many of my people are here. I have many friends. I got work in a factory making underskirts—all sorts of cheap underskirts. I earned $4.50 a week and lived on $2 a week, the same as before.

I got a room in the house of some friends who lived near the factory. I pay $1 a week for the room and am allowed to do light housekeeping—that is, cook my meals in it. I get my own breakfast in the morning, just a cup of coffee and a roll. At noon time I come home to dinner and have a plate of soup and a slice of bread. My food for a week costs a dollar, just as it did in Allen street. I have the rest of my money to do as I like with. I am earning $5.50 a week now, and will probably get another raise soon.

One is paid by the amount of work done. So it is like piecework. All the hands get different amounts, some as low

as $3.50 and some of the men as high as $16 a week.

All the time we are working the boss walks around examining the finished garments and making us do them over again if they are not just right. So we have to be careful as well as fast. But I am getting so good at the work that within a year I will be making $7 a week. Then I can save at least $3.50 a week. I have over $200 saved now.

The machines are all run by foot-power. At the end of the day one feels so weak that there is a great temptation to lie right down and sleep. But you must go out and get air, and have some pleasure. So instead of lying down I go out. Sometimes we go to Coney Island. There are good dancing places, and sometimes we go to Ulmer Park to picnics.

For the last two winters I have been going to night school. I have learned reading, writing and arithmetic. I can read quite well in English now and I look at the newspapers every day. I read English books, too, sometimes.

I get up at half-past five o'clock every morning and make myself a cup of coffee on the oil stove. I eat a bit of bread and perhaps some fruit and then go to work. Often I get there soon after six o'clock. The factory does not open till seven.

At seven o'clock we all sit down to our machines. The boss brings to each one the pile of work that he or she is to finish during the day, what they call in English their "stint." This pile is put down beside the machine. As

soon as a skirt is done it is laid on the other side of the machine. Sometimes the work is not all finished by six o'clock. Then the one who is behind must work overtime. Generally we are not done till six o'clock.

The machines go like mad all day. The faster you work the more money you get. Sometimes in my haste I get my finger caught and the needle goes right through it. It goes so quick, though, that it does not hurt much. I bind the finger up with a piece of cotton and go on working. We all have accidents like that.

A SLAVE'S WORK

Life was generally the same for the slave.

His principal work was cotton. It was a crop that needed much care and long hours of work.

The ground is prepared by throwing up ridges with the plow. Oxen and mules are used in plowing. The women as well as the men do this labor, feeding, currying, and taking care of their teams and doing the field and stable work.

When there are no cold rains, the cotton usually comes up in a week. In eight or ten days afterwards the first hoeing is started. This is done in part, also, with the plow and mule. The plow passes as near as possible to the cotton on both sides, throwing the dirt from it. Slaves follow with their hoes, cutting up the grass and cotton, leaving hills two feet and a half apart. This is called scraping cotton. In two weeks more the second hoeing begins. In another two weeks it is hoed the third time. About the first of July, when the cotton is a foot high, it is hoed the fourth and last time. During all these hoeings...the fastest hoer takes the lead row. He is usually ahead of all the others. If one of them passes him, he is whipped. If one falls behind or is a moment idle, he is whipped. In fact, the whip is flying from morning until night, the whole day long. The hoeing season continues from April until July.

In late August the cotton is picked. Each slave is given a sack. A strap is fastened to it, which goes over the neck,

holding the mouth of the sack high. The bottom nearly reaches to the ground. Each one is also given a large basket that will hold about two barrels. This is to put the cotton in when the sack is filled. The baskets are carried to the field and placed at the beginning of the rows.

The cotton grows from five to seven feet high. Each stalk has a great many branches shooting out in all directions.

Sometimes the slave picks down one side of a row and back upon the other. Usually there is one on either side, gathering all that has blossomed. When the sack is filled, it is emptied into the basket and packed down.

From morning until evening, the slaves worked at cotton and at everything else to be done on the plantation. Each day ended as the last one had. Each one began as the last, and each day expended itself as the last one had.

An hour before daylight the horn is blown. Then the slaves get up, prepare their breakfast, fill a gourd with water, in another, put their dinner of cold bacon and corn cake, and hurry to the field again. A slave will be beaten if found at the quarters after daybreak. Then the labors of another day begin and until its close there is no such thing as rest.

...with the exception of ten or fifteen minutes, which is given them at noon to swallow their allowance of cold bacon, they are not allowed to rest until it is too dark to see. When the moon is full, they often work till the middle of the night. They do not dare to stop even at dinner time

until the order to stop is given by the driver.

When the order to stop was finally given, it was weighing-in time. Each slave was expected to pick at least two hundred pounds of cotton a day. That was the minimum for everybody. Generally the overseer learned how much more than that each slave could pick, and that was his daily task.

The day's work over in the field, the baskets are carried to the ginhouse where the cotton is weighed. No matter how tired he may be—no matter how much he longs for sleep and rest—a slave always comes to the ginhouse with fear. If it falls short in weight—if he has not performed the full task expected of him—he knows that he must suffer.

A day seldom passed by without one or more whippings. This happened at the time the cotton was weighed. The slave whose weight had fallen short, was taken out, stripped, made to lie upon the ground, face downwards, and whipped. It is the truth that the crack of the lash and the shrieking of the slaves can be heard from dark till bedtime.

Twenty-five lashes are given when a dry leaf or a piece of boll is found in the cotton. One hundred lashes is the punishment for standing idle in the field.

CHINESE LABORERS ON THE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD

The following report was written by a reporter in 1869:

It is daybreak. The scene is in the valley of the Great Salt Lake. Today, a day's work will be the laying of ten miles of rail. Along the line of the road may be seen the camps of the Chinese laborers. From every one of them squads of these people are going to work.

A car loaded with iron rails is coming up the track. It is pulled along by a pair of horses. The two rails are grabbed, hauled forward by four men, and laid on the ties. Then comes a gang of men, who half drive spikes. Just after them comes the first party of Chinese, who finish driving the spikes and add others. Behind them comes a second squad of Chinese, two deep, on either side of the track. The inner line has shovels, the outer has picks. The pickaxe men loosen a shovelful of earth. It is picked up by the inner line and thrown about the ends of the ties. I timed them twice. The first time, 240 feet of rail were laid in one minute and twenty seconds. The second time 240 feet were laid in one minute and fifteen seconds. This is about as fast as a slow walk. The whole ten miles of rail were laid down today.

But we have taken in a part of the scene. Along the line are overseers galloping up and down, seeing that

everything is correctly done. Right at the front sits Mr. Charles Crocker, the general superintendent.... The eye of Mr. Crocker takes in every detail of the operation.

By six o'clock two miles are laid. A train containing two more miles of rails is pushed forward from the rear. It steams up to the last rail just laid. A squad of men took exactly ten minutes to unload it. There are 100 tons of iron to the mile. 200 tons of iron, together with ten tons of spikes were unloaded within that time.

By noon there is no longer any doubt that ten miles will be laid. In six hours and forty-two minutes six miles of track were laid. 1,200 to 1,400 men are now to be fed. They are fed like fighters. Their bread and meat are of the very best. As soon as the tools are thrown down the boarding-house train is there, and the white laborers go to their dinner. The Chinamen bring their food with them and eat on the line of work.

I hear the Caucasian commander of the gang yelling, "Hurry up there, ye devils, shure we have no time to lose."

Onward the workers advance. Before the night comes the great job is completed. The last two rails are laid, the last spike is driven, and the workers return to their quarters. No such feat has ever before been accomplished in the history of railroading.

In the late 1860's over 8,000 Chinese worked to help build the railroad. They worked from daybreak to sundown. They worked in the heat of summer and in the cold of winter. Their work took them over, around, and through great mountains.

They were organized into gangs of thirty to forty men. A Chinese boss was at the head of each gang. They were paid between $30 and $35 each month. From this money the cost of food was deducted.

Often they faced danger in their work. To cut through rock at one point Chinese workers were lowered over a cliff in baskets. They drilled holes and placed explosives in the rock. Then they were pulled up quickly before the explosives went off. In the winter they were troubled with heavy snow and cold temperatures. They tunneled beneath the snow and continued their work. Sometimes they only advanced a few inches in twelve hours. Without these hard-working Chinese the railroad would have taken longer to build and cost more money.

PATTERNS OF ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION

IN THE CORPORATE WORLD

In a speech to the Senate a Senator noted: "In this country today, there are few women and minority group executives in business and industry. There are also few representatives of Southern and Eastern European ethnic groups at these same management levels. Polish, Italian and other ethnic groups are beginning to look hard at the American dream. They are finding that they are a long way from 'having made it.' They are asking questions and looking for answers."

The National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs examined the executive positions of 106 major, national firms in Chicago.

They tried to discover just how many Italians, Poles, Blacks, and Latins were members of the boards of directors or officers of the 106 firms. More than half of the firms were among the 500 largest corporations in the United States.

The results of the study were far worse than had been expected. The four groups studied made up nearly one-third of the Chicago area population. There were only 36 Polish, Italian, Black or Latin directors in these firms. That was less than 1/33 of the total 1,341 directors. 52 officers—less than 1/25 of the total of 1,355 officers—were Polish, Italian, Black or Latin.

Other findings were even more serious. 55 of the 106 firms had no Poles, Italians, Latins or Blacks as either

directors or officers. In fact, Poles, Latins and Black were practically absent from the top levels of Chicago's largest companies. 102 of the 106 firms had no Polish director. 97 had no Polish officers. Only one corporation had a Black officer. Two had Latin officers.

84 companies had no Italian directors and 75 had no officers. The Italian numbers were misleading for two reasons. First, the Admiral Corporation, one of the firms studied, is Italian-American owned and operated. Second, one Italian-American man at the time was a member of 9 of the 106 boards.

Although Poles make up 6.9 percent of the Chicago area population, only 0.3 percent of the directors are Polish. Italians at 4.8 percent of the population were 0.4 percent of the directors. Latins, making up 4.4 percent of the population, held only 0.1 percent of the directors. The same pattern was true for percentages of the four groups who were company officers.

The ethnics were better represented than the Blacks. It was obvious, however, that neither had "made it." The top layers of business management are still closed.

Why are ethnics not better represented at the top? There may be several reasons: conscious discrimination, company tradition, clubbishness of executives. Boards of directors especially tend to look for people with similar backgrounds.

Some of the reactions to the study were interesting:

David Roth, Midwest Director of the American Jewish Committee:

"The Poles and Italians are groups that attempted to melt into the society, but the second and third generations are discovering that it takes more than time to become part of the mainstream."

Anthony J. Fornelli, A Chicago attorney and a leader of the Chicago Polish Italian Conference: "If we are such a large percentage of the national population, why do we have such a small percentage of the top jobs? Either we are a minority in numbers or a minority in thought. Either business is ignoring us or there is a conscious effort to exclude. The numbers say something is wrong. I think the decision is conscious. I feel there is conscious effort to exclude. Can you believe that four groups have been excluded without a conscious effort?"

Mitchell P. Kobelinski, former president of the Illinois Polish National Alliance and a presidentially appointed director of the Export-Import Bank in Washington, D.C.: "The study speaks for itself. With the existing population percentages of the four minority groups represented in the study, it couldn't be coincidence. It must be design. Prove to us that you haven't been discriminating."

John M. Coulter, Director of Merit Employment, Manpower and Development Training for the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry: "Boards tend to seek out people with like backgrounds even while trying to find the best men they can."

Dr. John Rettaliata, who is on 9 boards in the study: "Anyone who is qualified and will not embarrass the company

can become an officer or a board member. There is no reason why an ethnic can't go as far as anyone."

Millard Robbins, a Chicago owner of an insurance and mortgage business and the only Black board member of People's Gas: "I was appointed to the board because they needed a Black face somewhere. I am surprised that the Poles and Italians weren't better represented."

Walter H. Clark, Vice President of the First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Chicago, and the only Black officer in the 106 corporations studied: "It (the study) doesn't surprise me. We are seeing the results of years of discrimination. For the average Black kid the statistics don't show any bright spots."

What do you think?

PRIVATE CLUB DISCRIMINATION AND THE LAW

Groucho Marx once said he wouldn't join any club which would have him as a member. Many people are disappointed by the situation today. These people feel there is something wrong with the practices of many clubs. New members are kept out only on the basis of their religion or race.

It seems that these feelings have grown. The drive to gain equal opportunity for minorities in jobs, housing and education has spread to private clubs, too. It has been shown that the advancement prospects of executives are related to their acceptability for membership in important city and country clubs. Certain private clubs are the setting in which important business and political decisions are reached.

On the other hand, some people uphold the legal right of clubs to discriminate on the basis of freedom of association. They are saying that human beings are entitled to create a quiet place sealed off from the outside world. Here they may be friendly only with people of their choice. And how they choose is nobody else's business. To deny this right, it is argued, would constitute an invasion of privacy. U.S. Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg, in his opinion in a 1964 case said:

> "Prejudice and bigotry are regrettable but it is the constitutional right of every person to close his home or club to any person...."

Some members of restricted clubs would in fact choose to socialize with some who are not allowed to join.

The part of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which bars discrimination in public lodging does not apply to private clubs. But, people are questioning the right of Government to help such discrimination by granting such things as liquor licenses to clubs. These critics say that governmental help is the same as agreeing with the private bigotry.

Many private clubs are partly "public accommodations" when they rent out to various groups of nonmembers. This very point was raised in a lawsuit in Maryland. Ten members of the Kenwood Country Club have been trying to make this club allow black guests. These members say that the restaurant and meeting rooms of the Kenwood Club are rented out regularly to outside groups. This makes the club a "public accommodation." The court ruled that the Kenwood Country Club can not ban black guests.

Maine prohibits any corporation with a license to sell food or liquor from excluding any person on account of race, religion, or national origin. The penalty for violation of this law is loss of license. This was the first bill of its kind ever to become law in any State.

The city of Miami has a law against leasing public property to clubs which discriminate. This came from charges that certain clubs which leased city property, excluded Jews or Negroes or both. There was a feeling that public land should not be

used to discriminate racially or religiously.

What does this add up to? While some private clubs have stopped exclusion of minority groups, most of them have not. In certain clubs, unfortunately, prejudice is still fashionable. Yet some who belong to these clubs are people who run our society—doctors, lawyers, bankers, advertising executives. They give discrimination respectability.

Clubs say that they have a right to be prejudiced. But their argument lately is running into trouble. More and more people are offended by this bigotry. They are doing something about it.

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese bombed the American Naval Base at Pearl Harbor. The next day the United States went to war with Japan. At this time there were many Japanese-Americans living along the West Coast. Many people wanted these Japanese-Americans removed from the coastal states.

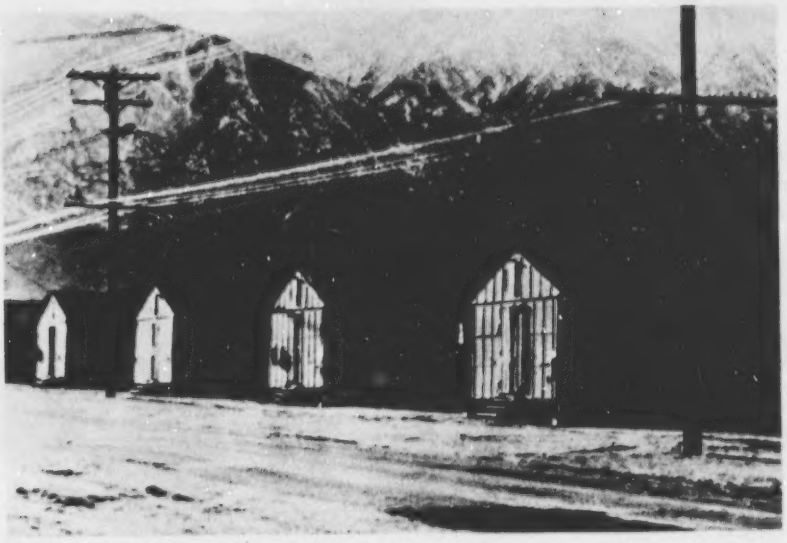
On March 2, 1942, the Japanese-Americans were told they were to be moved out of these states.

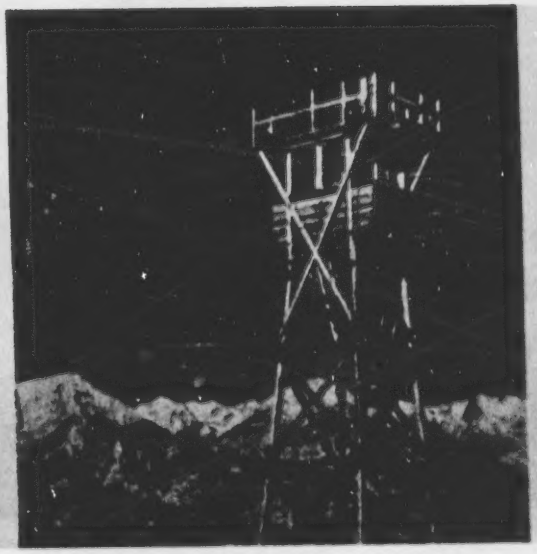
People were registered and readied for the move.

All Japanese, regardless of age, were to be sent inland. This was because the government said some of them could be spies or . . .

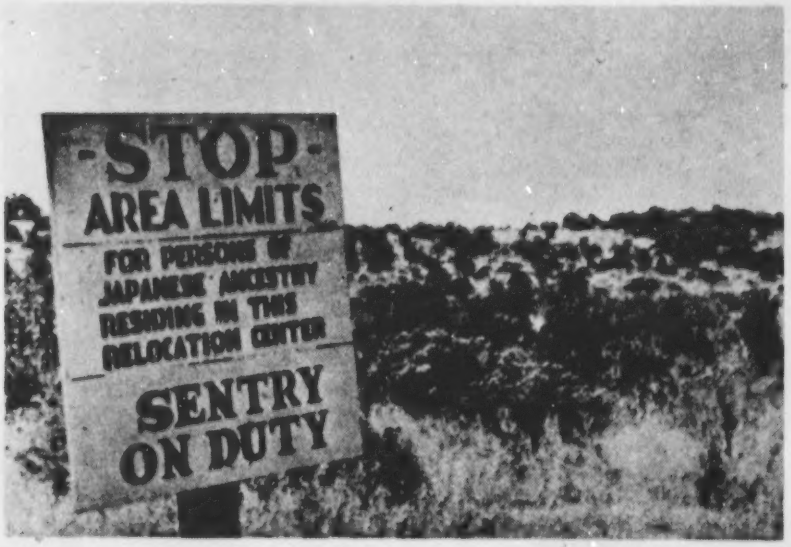
These people were forced to sell their property, their homes, their businesses. They lost a great deal of money.

The places that the Japanese-Americans were moved to had been army camps.





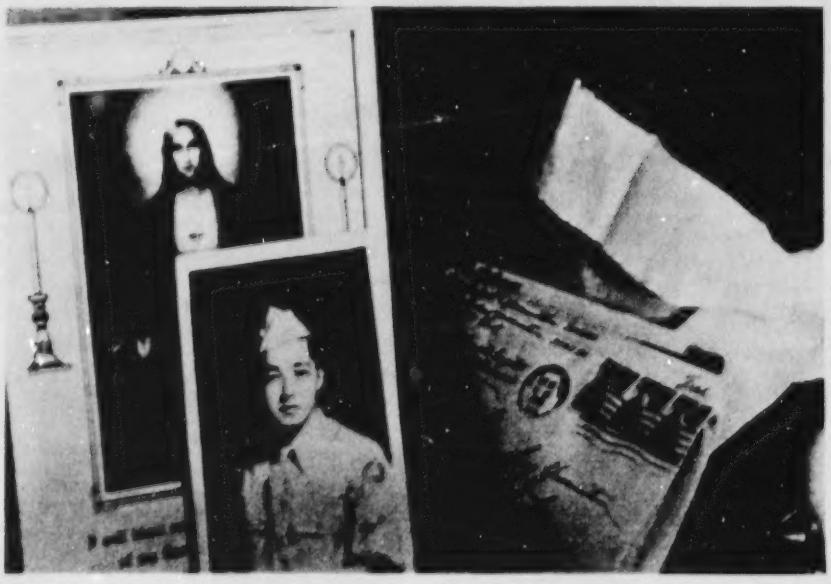
These relocation camps were closed in and the Japanese-Americans could not come and go as they pleased.



The buildings in these camps were poorly built. They did not give the Japanese-Americans much protection from the weather.

The living area for the people in these camps was not very large.

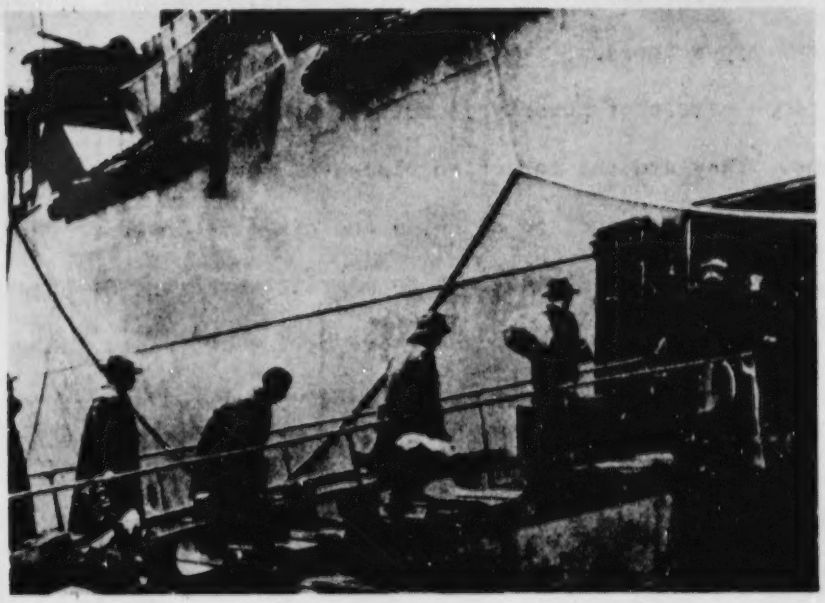
Most Japanese-Americans remained loyal to the United States, even though they suffered a great deal. Many young Japanese-American men fought for the U.S. Army while their parents were forced to live in the camps.



Even in the camps, many of the people kept their patriotic attitudes.

The mothers of Japanese-American service men were honored in some camps.

Finally, the war was over. The camps were closed. But where could the Japanese-Americans go? They had lost their businesses, their land. Most of them started new lives in the U.S. But some left this country. They had lost faith in America. They gave up their citizenship, and they moved to Japan.



What would you have done?

MEXICAN-AMERICANS IN THE "MAGIC VALLEY"

Nearly 100,000 people, most of them Mexican-Americans, live in collections of tiny houses and shacks on small lots throughout the "magic valley" of the Rio Grande. The river forms the U.S. boundary with Mexico.

It's called the "magic valley" because everything from grapefruit to sugarcane grows there.

A vicious circle of poverty is not disappearing in the 200 colonias -- small towns. They are the forgotten places of south Texas.

Nine years ago, Francisco de Hoyas and his wife moved to Hidalgo Park. A land-owner was selling lots to migrant workers. De Hoyas managed to scrape up $300 and bought a 50- by 50-foot plot. He was now a landowner. He thought prosperity was sure to follow.

It didn't work out that way. An unskilled laborer, he found no steady employment. The landowner had sold de Hoyas land, but nothing more. There was no water, no sewer, no paved roads or streetlights.

Almost ten years later, conditions are still the same. The floor in de Hoyas's one-bedroom shack sags. A single 40-watt bulb burns in the tiny living room. The room serves as the bedroom for the four de Hoyas children. A drainage canal runs alongside the house. The children often get sick from the water. It comes from a well dug behind the house. "None of them," de Hoyas says, "has ever been sick more than two weeks. It usually clears up by then."

De Hoyas can still find only occasional work. In a recent week, he earned $38 driving a tractor for a rancher. Last year, he made $2,000. This year he will make slightly less. Helped by food stamps, the de Hoyas family barely survives.

De Hoyas's experience is typical. For years, the chicanos of the magic valley have been faced with illiteracy and unemployment. Seventy-four percent of the adults have not completed more than seventh grade.

Lack of nutrition is a problem.

The colonias have other health problems. There are many diseases in the magic valley -- whooping cough, tuberculosis, typhus and amoebiasis. "We're keeping people from dying," one doctor says, "but we can't improve the quality of their life.

PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK

Puerto Ricans rank last in comparison to other groups in New York City. 841,000 Puerto Ricans live in New York.

Puerto Rican family income was lowest among the three major groups in the city: $3,949 compared to $4,754 for nonwhites and $7,635 for whites. The percentage of Puerto Ricans on welfare rolls is very high.

Puerto Ricans showed a decrease from 17 to 12 percent in white-collar jobs between 1960 and 1965. Unemployment rates reached 12 percent, three times the national rate. Puerto Ricans made up 22.1 percent of the city's public school population, 244,458 out of 1,109,664. Academically, they do badly. Half of Puerto Ricans in the city over 25 years of age have less than an eighth grade education. Most reaching ninth grade read at a fifth grade level.

But even these statistics cannot tell the story of "el barrio." "There is only one 'el barrio,'" a young Puerto Rican explained. Coming out of the subway into the streets of "el barrio" is like stepping into another world. Three and four story tenements line the streets. East 96th Street runs like a wall between well-to-do Manhattanites and East Harlem Puerto Ricans.

Life during the summer is lived as much on the streets as possible. Poorly ventilated apartments are extremely close. The smell of the sweat and garbage is strong. Most of the buildings are privately owned by outsiders. Most of the buildings were built before the First World War.

A middle-aged Puerto Rican told the story of a visit he had made recently to an apartment of three rooms. Eight people lived there.

The father, out of work, had just finished eating. He was placing his plate in the sink. Distracted by the conversation he grabbed at what he thought was a piece of meat. He cursed when the thing he was about to put in his mouth turned out to be a mouse.

Living conditions are only one kind of problem facing the slum dweller. Housing problems face the poor. So do problems of education and employment.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND THE SAN FRANCISCO SCHOOLS

The first story about segregating Japanese children was in the San Francisco Chronicle of June 15, 1893. At the end of a story on a meeting of the Board of Education, it said that a member introduced a plan for all persons of Japanese ancestry to attend the Chinese school. It was passed.

A few days later a representative of the Japanese government protested the action. He said there were between forty and fifty Japanese in the public schools. He described them as "respectable and well behaved and fully aware of the privileges given to them." He argued that the school board's resolution was "unjust."

California laws at the time said: "Every school must be opened for all children between 6 and 21 years of age...They shall have the power to exclude children with filthy habits, or children with infectious diseases, and also to open separate schools for children of Mongolian or Chinese descent. When such separate schools are established, Chinese or Mongolian children must not be admitted into any other school."

After the Japanese protest, the president of the school board said it had no right to make Japanese attend a school set apart for Chinese. There was no separate school for the Japanese. He seemed to favor a separate school for the Japanese. The president went on to say that to exclude Japanese children from public schools was an "unjustifiable insult."

The next attempt to segregate Japanese children drew national and international attention. On May 6, 1905, the San Francisco school board said it would send Japanese pupils to an Oriental school. This was to save white children from being "affected by the Mongolian race."

On October 11, 1906, principals were told to send all Chinese, Japanese and Korean children to the Oriental School.

The Board of Education's order was noted in both Tokyo and Washington. President Theodore Roosevelt had been impressed by the Japanese military and felt that her immigrants deserved better than to be discriminated against by a school board. Late in 1906 he sent his Secretary of Commerce and Labor to see what could be done to protect the rights of the Japanese. He found the issue involved only 93 Japanese students—25 who were American-born.

The principle was important. The Japanese decided to fight discrimination against the children. They argued that their children never could be expected to become good Americans if they were not permitted to associate freely with Americans of other racial and ethnic backgrounds. Strong racial pride was present. They protested loudly, even though their numbers were limited.

The Secretary of Commerce and Labor found both the school board and Japanese had points in their favor. School officials pointed out that many Japanese students were teen-agers. Because they did not understand English they were in classes

with much younger children. Finally, San Francisco officials were invited to Washington. There a compromise was worked out: All overage Japanese were to be placed in separate schools where they could be given special help with English; all other Japanese children could continue in the regular schools.

A relatively minor local issue had forced the President of the United States to take notice and act.

THE CITIZENSHIP OF DR. PANDIT

One of the most serious kinds of discrimination has been to prevent people from becoming citizens. During its history the United States has denied citizenship to many different kinds of people. At one time or another each of the following groups was not allowed citizenship: blacks, Chinese immigrants, Japanese immigrants, even Native American Indians.

There are two ways of becoming a citizen. The first is to be born in the United States. The second is to be "naturalized." In 1790 a law regarding naturalization was passed. It said that any "free white person" could become a citizen. Most immigrants to the United States eventually became naturalized citizens. It was, however, necessary for an immigrant to prove that he/she was a "white person" before citizenship would be granted.

Sakaram Ganesh Pandit came to the United States in 1906. He had been highly educated in India, his home country. As a doctor of education and philosophy, Pandit was asked to speak at many American universities. He lectured on many different topics: Sandskrit literature, logic, religion, and philosophy.

Dr. Pandit also studied at some American universities, including the University of Chicago. He became a lawyer in Los Angeles in 1917.

In 1914 Dr. Pandit had become a United States citizen. East Indians are considered to be Caucasians, part of the

Caucasian race. Europeans are part of this race also. Dr. Pandit argued that since he was an East Indian and since East Indians were considered Caucasians, he must also be considered "white." He won the argument and became an American citizen.

He practiced law in Los Angeles, and he also taught law.

But in 1923 something happened that would have a great effect on Dr. Pandit. The citizenship of another East Indian was cancelled by the U.S. government. The judge in the case claimed that the citizenship had been granted under false conditions. East Indians, the judge said, were not white. Even though in scientific study Europeans and East Indians are in the same race, the "average" man did not think so. The judge said that the term "white" used in the law was not the same as the "white" in scientific study. The "man on the street" meaning of "white" was what the law meant. For this reason East Indians were not white and could not become U.S. citizens.

This case led to many others. Altogether about 70 East Indians had become citizens. The government started action to take their citizenship from these people. Such action would be very harmful to Dr. Pandit. If he lost his citizenship, he would no longer be able to practice law. Since non-citizens were not allowed to own property in California, Dr. Pandit would also lose the land and home that he owned.

Dr. Pandit fought a legal battle against the United States for four years. Finally in 1927 he won. The Supreme Court ruled that he could remain a citizen. But other East Indians were not as fortunate; most of them lost their citizenship.

Until 1946 the East Indians were prevented from gaining citizenship. At that time the Luce-Cellar Bill became law. This law allowed East Indians to become citizens. This made it possible for them to own land. They were also able to bring their relatives from India to the United States.

AN END TO SEGREGATION OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS

In the Southwestern United States two cultures came together. One was the culture of the Mexican-Americans who had lived in this land north of Mexico for many years. The other was the culture of white Anglo-Americans who moved west from the United States. The United States gained political control of this land. With that control came power over the earlier residents, both the Indians and the Mexican-Americans.

One way the Anglo-Americans showed their power was in education. The Anglos tried to impose their language and values through the schools. Mexican-American students were expected to learn the same things as Anglo students. In addition, they were expected to speak only English. This was so even though for many Mexican-American students their native language was Spanish. In many schools children were punished if they used Spanish in class.

The language difference often led to segregated schools for "Mexican" students and "American" students. Such segregated schools were the rule in many places in the Southwest, especially in Texas and California. It did not seem to matter that many of the "Mexican" students were American citizens. They had been born in the United States. Many of their parents were also citizens. Sometimes it did not even matter that they could speak English.

Language was only an excuse. The real reason was prejudice

against the Mexican-Americans. There was no legal basis for segregation. It was done to please Anglo parents and community members.

Segregation is discrimination. As a school policy, it does not start by accident. There is an intent to separate children on the basis of race, nationality, or religion. Many different groups have faced school segregation—Chinese, Jews, Blacks.

Many Mexican people lived in the Southwest before it became part of the United States. Later others came to the U.S. Many of these people were agricultural laborers. Their pay was very low. They lived on the edges of towns where the land was cheap. They built small, simple homes to live in. Often there were no sewers in these areas. People were crowded together. Many of these people planned to make enough money for some land and then return to Mexico. But few of them went back across the border.

The living conditions of these Mexican-Americans were disliked by the Anglos. But they blamed the Mexicans for their living conditions. They thought all Mexicans lived like this. The Mexican farm workers moved often. They spoke a foreign language. These things caused problems for schools and teachers.

By the end of World War II many of these conditions had changed. The Mexican-Americans had become permanent residents. There were large numbers of them. The grandchildren of the first Mexican immigrants were growing up in the shacks built

on the edges of the towns. Many of the shacks had been torn down. New houses had been built. Many young Mexican-Americans had been educated. Some had also been in the armed forces and traveled around the world. They wanted to be accepted in the larger community.

A large number of these people then were able to speak English. The Mexican-Americans formed organizations. They fought for their rights. In California a Mexican-American, Gonzalo Mendez, sued the school district. His suit charged that segregation was illegal discrimination. This case was handled in federal court in 1946. The court agreed with Mendez. They ordered the schools not to segregate. Later cases in California and Texas ended segregation of the Mexican-Americans.

THE BIRTH OF JACL

In 1918 a small group of Japanese-Americans in San Francisco began to meet together for lunch. They were mostly recent college graduates, just starting out in business or their own practices. They talked of many things, but mostly of the future of the Japanese in the United States. Sometimes after work they would meet again to talk some more.

This group included some of the very first American-born Japanese. They had grown up in a period of persecution. Some had to go to the segregated Oriental school. They had seen their fathers beaten for being Japanese. Their family businesses had been picketed. The windows of their homes had been smashed. They knew they were American citizens, but few others seemed to know or care. Strangers sometimes asked, "When did you come to the United States? What is Japan like?" They asked themselves: "What good is our citizenship? Are we going to live with the same discrimination as our parents? What should we do?" Many admitted they sometimes resented their Japanese blood because they felt it stood in the way of becoming good Americans. They were concerned about the future of Japanese-American boys and girls.

Their discussions led to a desire to claim their rights as Americans. They also wanted to let others know that they were Americans. They realized they would be more effective if they organized. So they founded what they first called the American Loyalty Club. They changed the name to the American Loyalty League later. They were united by a desire

to take part in all the fine things that were American. They wanted to try to make that easier for other Japanese-American citizens. One of their first activities was a speaker's bureau. But few people were interested in what they had to say. So they booked some speaking dates with church groups through the YMCA and told their story to whoever would listen.

They realized that to claim their rights they must register as voters. They also became interested in political matters. One member, Dr. Yatabe, remembers the day he went to register. The clerk took his name and address and asked his race.

"I'm Japanese," Dr. Yatabe replied.

"There is no listing for the Japanese race," the clerk replied. "You've got to be white, black or Mongolian."

"I'm not Mongolian. And I'm not white and I'm not black. I'm an American of Japanese parentage," Dr. Yatabe insisted.

The clerk was puzzled. She called a superior and they went into a huddle. After a while they accepted Dr. Yatabe's statement that he was Japanese rather than Mongolian and wrote it on the form.

The American Loyalty League of San Francisco did not last long. The members found less and less time for serious discussions. Dr. Yatabe moved to Fresno in 1922 to open a practice.

The American Loyalty League of Fresno was organized in 1923. It had grown into an active group when the Japanese American Citizens League became a national organization—meaning three states—in 1930. The JACL traces its beginnings

to Fresno's American Loyalty League.

Dr. Yatabe was a dentist. He was worried about how to build up his own clientele. One day he asked a young Italian-American attorney what he could do to attract some white patients.

"You were born in California, weren't you?" the attorney asked.

Yatabe said he was. In 1897.

"Well, you ought to join the Native Sons of the Golden West. That way you'll get to know a lot of the finest people around here. Let me put your name in for membership."

Yatabe smiled to himself and agreed. He knew the Native Sons were violently anti-Japanese, and he was sure to be turned down.

A few days later the attorney came into Dr. Yatabe's office. He had a stunned look on his face. "I had no idea they were that kind of a group," he explained. Yatabe found many other whites were equally unaware. Now he was more sure than ever that he was on the right track when he urged Japanese-Americans to tell their story.

Meanwhile, the American Loyalty League of Fresno was at work. It joined with Black, Italian, Mexican, Chinese and German-Russian ethnic groups to ask the mayor for better street lighting. The mayor was amazed. No one had ever complained about conditions in that part of town. Better lights were quickly installed.

By 1926 Yatabe began to hear about another Japanese-American in San Francisco. His name was Saburo Kido, a native of the Hawaiian Islands. He had come to California to study law. He had opened a practice in San Francisco. A newspaperman brought the two men together. Yatabe was tall and a good speaker. Kido was short, and he had never lost his accent. The two liked each other immediately. They would work together closely in the years to come.

Things began to happen in the Northwest also. The activity was started by a Japanese-American boxer, Jimmie Sakamoto.

Jimmie was a football and baseball star in high school. After graduation he went to New York. Sakamoto boxed professionally, taking on bantamweights, featherweights and junior lightweights. Fighting left him with two disfigured ears and ultimately blinded him.

Sakamoto liked the idea of an organization of American-born Japanese. He could see a coast-wide alliance. Sakamoto put his savings into an all-English weekly newspaper for Japanese-Americans. On January 1, 1928, he published the first issue of The Japanese American Courier. It called for reorganization of the Seattle Progressive Citizens League, a Japanese-American organization.

The Seattle group had been formed to combat anti-Japanese movements. But Sakamoto said: "Instead of worrying about anti-Japanese activity or laws, we must turn our efforts to building the abilities and character of the second generation

so they will become loyal and useful citizens who, some day, will make their contribution to the greatness of American life."

In mid-1928 the Seattle group sent representatives to meet with some members of the American Loyalty League of Fresno. Another meeting was set for the following April.

At the April meeting there were three major proposals: 1) That a national Japanese-American organization be formed; 2) that it be called the Japanese American Citizens League, and 3) that a convention be held in Seattle in the summer of 1930.

Some wanted to emphasize the Japanese ethnic ties of the organization. Others argued that any reference to Japan and the Japanese ought to be avoided. The final decision was to call the national organization the Japanese American Citizens League. The various chapters could call themselves by any name they chose. Fresno kept its original name, American Loyalty League.

The JACL showed the importance they placed on American citizenship. They asked Congress to change two laws to help more Japanese-Americans get citizenship.

Both changes were made. But it took some hard efforts on the part of the JACL.

The second national JACL convention was held in Los Angeles in 1932.

Of those days, one woman has written: "Between wienie bakes and the beaches and dances, we would gather at church

and JACL meetings to think about ways of getting out the vote, planning ways of putting up Japanese American candidates for political offices, mixing more into the larger American community, talking about the future of Japanese churches and citizenship."

The JACL tried to get more Japanese-Americans interested in political matters. It was easy to get them registered to vote. Rounding them up for a meeting with candidates was a more difficult problem.

Jimmie Sakamoto was elected the JACL's second national president in 1936. He started a "Second Generation Development Program" that called for:

—Contributing to the social life of the nation, living with other citizens in a common community of interests and activities to promote the national welfare.

—Contributing to the economic welfare of the nation by taking key roles in agriculture, industry and business.

—Contributing to the civic welfare as intelligent voters and public-spirited citizens.

Years later an official of the JACL was to say: "JACL is more than just another organization. It symbolizes an ideal, a crusade to be fought, a goal to be reached: the freedom of all Japanese Americans from limited citizenship; their total assimilation into the general cultural pattern; and their complete acceptance as co-Americans by their fellows. In a broader sense, JACL is but a part of the large movement through which all minorities—racial, economic, political, religious—seek their just and rightful place.

N.A.A.C.P.

On the 100th anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, 1909, a plan was made for a national conference for "the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty." Two meetings were held in New York. Out of them came the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The aim of the new organization was to wipe out discrimination in American public life. In its own words, "to make 11,000,000 Americans physically free, mentally free, politically free and socially free." Control of the organization was held by an interracial board of directors. The N.A.A.C.P. was designed to operate through state and local branches.

With one exception, the first national officers of the organization were well-known whites.

W.E.B. DuBois was the only black national officer.

During its first years the NAACP had to give much attention to an unexpected foe—the federal government. It had become clear that members of the cabinet were following the color line in their departments. Office spaces in these departments began to be segregated or screened off, as were lunchrooms and restrooms. Soon the few good jobs usually held by blacks, such as Register of the Treasury and representatives to Haiti and Liberia, were assigned to whites. In May, 1914, the Civil Service began to require photographs of persons taking examinations. This tended to increase racial discrimination.

President Wilson approved of segregation. He thought it

was good for both races. In Wilson's mind the problems of black people could wait.

But they could not be ignored. The N.A.A.C.P. saw to that. In May, 1913, the Association asked Wilson to appoint a National Race Commission to look into the status of blacks. Wilson did not set up the commission. He saw no solution to the problem.

The N.A.A.C.P. sponsored a series of mass meetings in northern cities. The Association also protested through petitions, collecting signatures of whites and blacks to be sent to the White House. The largest of the petitions was one with 20,000 names which was delivered to Wilson in person.

Early in 1914 the Treasury Department began to stop its discriminatory policies quietly. Other federal departments were slower to remove prejudices.

To Negroes the fight against "Jim Crow" in the federal government brought with it an increased sense of racial solidarity and a greater interest in national affairs.

At the start of World War I, Congress established fourteen training camps for white officers, and none for blacks. Blacks protested this. The effort to make officer training available received the strong support of the N.A.A.C.P. Finally the War Department authorized an officers' training camp for black men.

In many court cases the N.A.A.C.P. helped provide lawyers,

and other legal costs. It hoped to do away with segregation.

"We decided," said Thurgood Marshall, "to make segregation itself our target." To launch a direct attack on segregation in the public schools needed careful preparation. By 1950 the N.A.A.C.P. was ready. On May 16 of that year its legal counsel filed a suit in the federal court in Charleston, South Carolina, on behalf of sixty-seven black children asking that they be admitted to the public schools. This case, along with four similar ones, eventually reached the Supreme Court, all of them taking the name Brown v Board of Education.

The Court had to decide whether a state had the constitutional power to operate segregated schools on the elementary and secondary levels. On May 17, 1954, the nine Justices, three of them southerners, made a unanimous decision: segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race was unconstitutional. The Court said that separate educational facilities were unequal and so deprived the segregated person of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Brown decision was a revolutionary step in American race relations. The Brown decision could be extended to any segregation imposed by state law.

MILITANCY OF URBAN INDIANS

There is some hope among the more than 300,000 "urban Indians" in the United States.

Groups of young militant Indians have organized to fight for better housing and an end of discrimination in jobs and schooling. They have tried to shock the nation into awareness. They have done this by seizing unused Federal land in a number of cities and squatting there.

Indians are a small minority. They are a political force in only a half-dozen Western states -- Arizona, New Mexico, South Dakota, Oklahoma, North Dakota, Montana -- and in Alaska. But 60 cities have more than 1,000 Indians each. The largest concentrations are in Los Angeles, Chicago, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Phoenix, Albuquerque, Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Seattle and New York.

In none of these cities do Indians make up more than 3 percent of the population. Usually they are unstable, shifting from slum to slum, moving back and forth between city and reservation. They are hard to count.

The Indians are beginning to draw attention from government.

In 1971, a group of young, tough-minded Indian activists was installed in the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington. That Federal agency has long been accused of treating the natives as children incapable of decision. In the last few months it has gone through an Indian take-over.

The bureau has no responsibility over urban Indians. Its funds must be spent for programs "on or near" reservations. Yet the presence of the activists in the bureau has pleased the city militants.

In Milwaukee there are 3,300 Indians. They make up less than 1 percent of the population. Members of the American-Indian Movement (A.I.M.) seized an abandoned Coast Guard station in August 1971 on the Lake Michigan shorefront.

They justified the seizure by citing an old Indian treaty that they said held that abandoned Federal land should revert to Indian ownership.

Federal authorities made no effort to remove the Indians. The Indians set up a school in the old station and a halfway house for alcoholics in another building.

Then, in November 1971, the Bureau of Indian Affairs moved to acquire title to the property as a center for a broad range of services for American Indians.

The bureau sent one of its education officers to Milwaukee to discuss aid to the Indian school.

"We feel it's ours, said Herbert Powless, chairman of A.I.M.'s Milwaukee chapter. Mr. Powless said he kept several Indian guards on the post at all times to resist any possible removal.

The Coast Guard station is in an upper-class, higher-rent neighborhood by a lakefront park and the Milwaukee Yacht Club. The neighbors have been friendly.

The Indians have converted the two upper floors into small classrooms. The place swarmed with Indian children, toddlers to teen-agers. From the kitchen came the smell of Indian corn bread. In Minneapolis, birthplace of A.I.M., Indians were chased out of an abandoned naval air station. The same thing has happened in Chicago.

In Minneapolis, a cradle of Indian activism, the Minnesota Council

of Churches succeeded in getting the first federally funded urban housing development for Indians. The $5.4-million project will contain 216 units.

"But it's just a drop in the bucket," said the church council's coordinator for Indian work. "There are 8,000 Indians here, mainly Chippewa and Sioux, and they are in a worse position than ever in housing, jobs and health. Unemployment has gone up to 60 percent."

Most Minneapolis Indians live on East Franklin Avenue on the near South Side. A recent report by the Minnesota League of Women Voters noted that "uncollected garbage, mice, cockroaches, exposed wiring and junk piled in the yards of old houses plague Indian tenants. The tenants do not generally complain even where civil rights violations are evident."

The militants have been trying to change this. Before 1965 there were no Indian complaints about housing, according to Dennis Banks, national director of the American Indian Movement. Then 60 complaints were filed with the Minneapolis Civil Rights Department, resulting in 12 convictions, he said.

"Now, there has been a very slight improvement" he said. "Landlords are trying to live up to standards."

To combat what it called police harassment, A.I.M. set up patrols with walkie-talkies and borrowed cars to watch the police and report incidents of brutality.

The Minneapolis Indians have another new safeguard -- a free legal rights center staffed by three lawyers and financed by the city's big law firms.

There are still a lot of problems at home faced by America's native people.